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776 rests with the eldest male of the foubding lineage of the village, but the
782 whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

● 778 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka, ue ara, mami ara, je ara,*
615 *kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it
782 exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the
769 frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be har-
[262] vested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuins (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires
[688] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the
224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of
782 former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*sui*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*piming*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

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One of the most elaborate carvings of Atimelang is the ancestral beam of the lineage house Tilalawati in Folafeng. It was carved recently for the new structure. The white figures were chalked to bring them out in the photograph.

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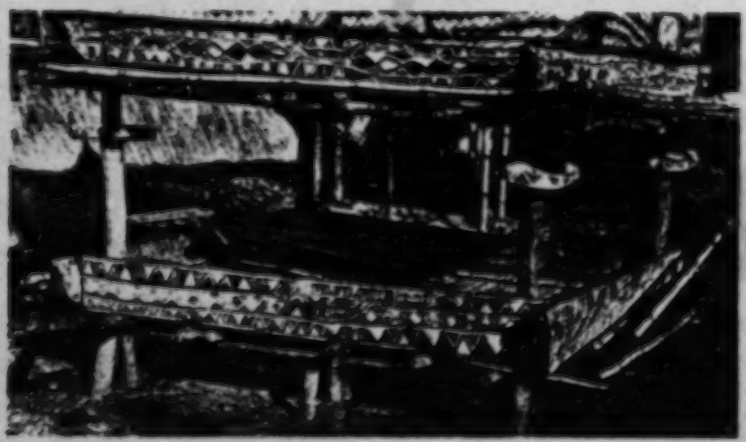

The most elaborately decorated familiar spirit house of Atimelang belongs to Fanseni Longhair.

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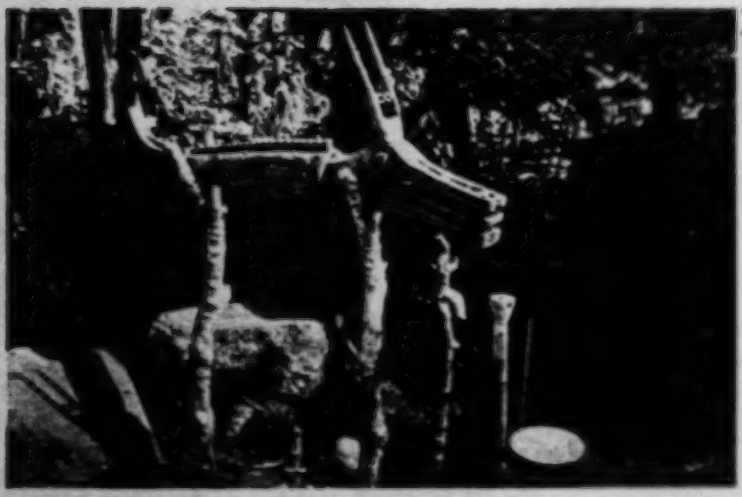

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A village guardian spirit (*ulemai*) to which a pig and rice have just been sacrificed.

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Fanseni Longhair carves a village guardian spirit figure.

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Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskillfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the

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one in each corner of the room and one in the center. He did this for six days and we didn't get sick any more. The evil spirit didn't come.

[What did he remember first about Melangkai?] It was before Senmani was born. I was about three. Melangkai was about twelve and Kupaipada was about six or seven. We were living in Puorkajvi at the time. Melangkai made a spirit boat carving and stood it in a tree. He said he was going to hunt meat to feed it. He got one small mouse and roasted it. The heart he fed to the carving and the haunches [the best part] he gave me. That is what I remember.

When Kupaipada had a bad ear, he didn't want to eat corn or tubers. He just wanted tikonas [infant's food]. Then he said, "Father, there is much food, but this is all I want." So father went to Bakudatang and cut a bunch of bananas. When I saw them, I cried because I wanted some too. Kupaipada was angry and said, "Why do you want my bananas? I don't eat other foods." He was angry and hit me. I cried hard. Mother came and I told her that because I wanted just one banana, her child had hit me. Then mother was angry and said, "Why do you hit your younger sibling? You are all my children. He is still small. You are the elder. You can eat these." She took two fruits and put them on top of the corn to cook and gave them to me.

Kupaipada did not finish the bananas. He had finished one bunch but had eaten only two or three from another when he was very sick and didn't talk any more. He said, "Mother, I am cold." So mother [with whom Rilpada was still sleeping at the age of six or seven] put me in back of her and took Kupaipada in her arms. They didn't sleep until almost dawn. Then Kupaipada began to groan [literally, "make a noise in his heart"]. After a while he stopped. Mother thought he was sleeping soundly and went off to sleep herself. When we awoke in the early morning, she put her hand on Kupaipada. He was already cold, dead. Mother cried. Manifani heard her, came, and for Kupaipada's death feast killed a large pig that mother was raising. He continued to stand there in the pen until father came down and gave him a small pig that we had in the house. Then mother came down and said, "It is also your child who died [i.e., his nephew]. Because he is under your jurisdiction [Manifani was chief at that time] and because you are his Male House, we shall have to pay you something if you stand there. Let us divine to discover whether the paternal or maternal ancestors are responsible for his death. If my kin are guilty we shall pay a fine to his father's kin. If his father's kin are guilty, we shall receive a fine." But they forgot to divine until after Melangkai died.

After my two brothers died there were just I and Senmani. Then

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things to eat. [Who cared for you most?] They were all the same; 159[x]
there was no one person especially who cared for me.

I can't remember any more. Maybe this afternoon or tomorrow morning I'll remember more. [He sat silent for a time.]

People stole corn from our garden. We found the husks. One night we heard the corn making a noise like this, "Ko, ko, ko, puh, puh." I was sleeping with my father. He got up to see who was there. I was afraid and went over to sleep next to my mother. Father went out and threw a stone. The person thought the stone came from the other direction, and he ran right down into my father's arms. Father grabbed him by the belt, but he had just a single cord there and his loincloth was tucked into it like a woman's. Father grabbed for his hair, but his hair was cut short. The belt rope broke and the person ran away. The next morning we saw the corn broken down and we found the piece of rope and the loincloth, but we didn't know who had stolen the corn.

One night too a man from Karieta came down to steal our corn. 159[x]
Ours was the only corn ripe yet. Maisibi, my sister Marsina's first husband, were out in the field to watch. Three men came, but only one entered our garden and began to break off corn. My brother-in-law shot, and the arrow went right through the thigh and came out the other side. The next morning my brother-in-law followed the trail of blood. It led up to Padaibi. There was Angfani, wounded. Maisibi accused him of stealing corn. Alurkaseni too was one of the three men, although he had stayed at our house. But people urged him to steal and he had gone. However, he refused to enter our garden. Kapitan Jacob beat gongs and went up to Padaibi. One man, the wounded one, paid us a pig that was pregnant with five piglets. The other paid us a reward —and all for the corn they had stolen. [Pause.]

One time my father wanted to buy a wife for me, although I was 159[x]
still small. I was about ten or twelve. Fuinsi was already big and had breasts. My father asked her for a long taber and she gave it to him. Then some people from Hatoberka came to get a spirit-bird bundle of [711] which my father was second owner. He was paid a Vifai mako, and he used it to pay for Fuinsi. I was small but I was not ashamed. I carried that mako and ran fast to take it to her. After a while I began to have a few thoughts. Whenever Fuinsi came people would say, "There is your wife." When I looked at her I saw she was a big woman, and I felt ashamed. Then her father died, and the mako stayed there. I never got it back. [Question.] I could go ask for it back but I am ashamed. Besides, maybe she gave my father something in return for the mako. I don't know about the transaction because I was still small then.

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[139] ports to divine for him. The results of these divinations had directed his attention to three possible sources of danger. One was the spirit of his father's lineage house in Makungfokung, which was putatively responsible for the death of male children in Fantan's line. A second was the evil spirit of a knoll called Manifuin, where Fantan as a child had found a crab, which he carried home and which was identified, *post hoc*, as a manifestation of the local supernatural being. The third source of danger was his place of residence. After these diagnoses Fantan went to purchase various "countermedicines." Of these he managed to secure only one. Although he declared his intention to continue his search for the proper remedies, he showed no persistence and in time the matter was dropped.

On this particular day Fantan arrived declaring he was very frightened. He reported that on the night before bats had come wheeling and squealing into his house and had frightened him and his wife. In addition, his wife, who had stepped out of the house, came running back, saying she had seen a dark figure that had tried to seize her. The two were apparently terrified, and Fantan burned some of his newly acquired medicine and then left to spend the rest of the night in another house. Fantan was obviously disturbed by the whole episode. He was sure that he was the victim of malignant spirits, and he was making the most of the matter to me.

The subsequent developments along these lines occurred a week later and led to further events in connection with the disposal of his Makusar moku.

## His Father's Grave

*April 20, 1939*

On the preceding day a grave at Karieta had caved in. The kin were worried and called Rilpada the Seer for advice. Rilpada's familiars said that the soul of the dead man was dragging into the grave the souls of several living kin. The seer recaptured them and returned them to their owners. Fantan heard of this and was worried. He went to examine his father's grave and saw that it too had settled. He sent his wife and sister to fetch Rilpada to investigate the matter. His wife and sister, however, decided that they preferred the services of Pulatimang and summoned him instead. Pulatimang's familiars revealed that Fantan's soul had indeed been dragged into his father's grave. The seer then recovered it and returned it to him. However, he told Fantan secretly that he had also discovered in the grave the soul of Malikaliera, the rich kinsman with whom Fantan had been having so much difficulty about the